

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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P R 221230Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7944

INFO AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 1167/1

DEPT. PASS: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS (EXCEPT DAR ES SALAAM) AND CAIRO,
ALGIERS, TUNIS, TRIPOLI, RABAT, PARIS LONDON, USUN, LOURENCO

MARQUES, LISBON, LUANDA, CAPE TOWN, TEL AVIV, DURBAN, JOHANNESBURG,
BONN, FOR INFO

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: AOU, XA

SUBJ: DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA: TEXT

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1049; YAOUNDE 1314 (NOTAL); DAKAR 2324 (NOTAL);
ABIDJAN 3177 (NOTAL).

1. OFFICIAL TEXT OF DECLARATION OF DAR ES SALAAM ON SOUTHERN
AFRICA, PASSED BY NINTH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS, FINALLY RELEASED APRIL 22 AND IS TRANSMITTED HERewith.
FINAL TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY SESSION WILL BE SENT BY
SEPTTEL.

2. TEXT OF DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

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QUOTE: 1. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF

AFRICAN UNITY, MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM FROM APRIL 7-10,1975

IN AN EXTRA-ORDINARY SESSION, HAS MADE AN IN-DEPT STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL AND THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR. THIS EVALUATION WAS MADE WITH THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF DEVISING WAYS AND MEANS OF REALIZING AFRICA'S LONG CHERISHED OBJECTIVE IN THE REGION, NAMELY, THE TOTAL LIQUIDATION OF THE TWIN EVILS OF COLONIALISM AND RACISM.

2. THOUGH OAU'S POSITION ON THESE PROBLEMS HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN MADE CLEAR, THE FAST CHANGING EVENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MAKE IT IMPERATIVE FOR AFRICA TO RE-EXAMINE ITS STRATEGY. SUCH REASSESSMENT IS PARTICULARLY CRUCIAL IN THE LIGHT OF DELIBERATE AND CALCULATED ATTEMPTS BY AFRICA'S ENEMIES TO SOW SEEDS OF CONFUSION AMONG OUR RANKS, AND EMPLOYING DIVERSIONARY TACTICS WITH THE VIEW TO UNDERMINING AFRICA'S STAND. IT IS THEREFORE TO THE RE-EXAMINATION OF AFRICA'S STRATEGY FOR THE LIBERATION OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AS WELL AS THE ABOLITION OF THE IN-HUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT THE MINISTERS HAVE DEVOTED THEIR EXTRAORDINARY SESSION IN DAR ES SALAAM. AND

THEY ACCORDINGLY DECLARE AS FOLLOWS:

3. THE DECISIVE DEFEAT OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM BY THE AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND THE IMMINENT INDEPENDENCE OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA HAS RADICALLY ALTERED THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE RESULTANT FATAL BLOW INFLICTED ON THE "UNHOLY ALLIANCE" OF THE GOVERNMENT IN PRETORIA WITH THE SMITH REGIME

AND THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS HAS SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED THE GEO- POL

ITICAL POSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. FREEDOM HAS COME TO THE BORDERS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA RESPECTIVELY. THE BUFFER ZONES FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF COLONIALISM AND RACISM HAVE ULTIMATELY CRUMBLLED.

4. VORSTER'S GOVERNMENT IS FACED WITH INTENSIFIED INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE DECISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO BAR THE SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION FROM TAKING

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PART IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-NINTH SESSION.

5. RECOGNIZING THAT THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE BRINGS WITH IT A RADICAL CHNAGE IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE AFRICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE RESULTING IN THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA HAS BEEN FORCED TO REVIEW ITS POLICIES TOWARDS ITS CLIENT STATE OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. THE APARTHEID REGIME OF VORSTER IS

THEREFORE NOW ENGAGED IN NEW MANOEUVRES IN AN ATTEMPT TO
REDUCE, IF NOT NEUTRALIZE, THE IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES

THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE REGION. IT IS DESPERATELY ATTEMPTING
TO BREAK ITS ISOLATION AND TO UNDERMINE INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION
TO ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. SOUTH AFRICA IS TRYING TO
CAMOUFLAGE THE REALITY OF THE ABNOXIOUS SYSTEM OF RACIAL OPPRESSION
IN SOUTH AFRICA BY RESORTING TO SUCH HIGHLY ORCHESTRATED PROPAGANDA
ON THE REMOVAL OF "PETTY-APARTHEID. THE AIM OF
VORSTER'S GOVERNMENT IN THIS EXERCISE OF WHITE-WASHING APARTHEID IS
CLEAR TO DECEIVE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION INTO BELIEVING THAT SOME RADICAL

CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE REPUBLIC AND THUS REDUCE THE REGIME'S
INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION.

6. OAU'S FULL COMMITMENT TO THE OBJECTIVE OF TOTAL LIBERATION

OF THE CONTINENT IS UNEQUIVOCAL AND UNQUESTIONABLE. THERE CAN
NEVER BE ANY SURRENDER OR COMPROMISE ON THIS GOAL. BUT THE

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA NECESSITATE THAT THE OAU RE-EVALUATES
ITS APPROACH FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACHIEVING THE DESIRED GOAL. SUCH A
RE-EXAMINATION BECOMES ALL THE MORE URGENT BY THE EVIDENCE OF NEW
TACTICS ON THE PART OF VORSTER'S REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA.

7. ABOVE ALL, IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT SUCH A
REASSESSMENT SHOULD HAVE AS ITS IMPORTANT PRE-REQUISITE THE
MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF AFRICA IN
CONFRONTING THE NEW SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE ENEMIES
OF AFRICA REALISE THAT THIS UNITY IS THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPON
IN THE CONTINENT'S ARSENAL. IT IS THAT UNITY AND SOLIDARITY
WHICH VORSTER, WITH HIS COLLABORATORS AND SUPPORTERS, ARE
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ATTEMPTING TO UNDERMINE. THEREFORE AFP'S URGENT NEED TO
CLOSE ITS RANKS IN FACING SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW TACTICS BECOMES
SELF-EVIDENT.

8. THERE ARE TWO MAIN AREAS OF CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.
THE FIRST IS THE CONFRONTATION WITH COLONIALISM. THE SECOND IS
THE CONFLICT WITH THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID WHICH HAS RIGHTLY
BEEN DECLARED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY.
BUT WHETHER WE ARE DEALING WITH STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM
IN RHODESIA OR ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA OR RACIST DOMINATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE MAIN OPPONENT OF AFRICA IS THE SAME: THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME AND THE POWER IT WIELDS IN THE THREE AREAS.
THUS THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM IS FIRSTLY SOUTH AFRICA AS A
COLONIALIST POWER, AND SECONDLY SOUTH AFRICA S A RACIST SOCIETY.

9. THE OAU'S OBJECTIVES IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA HAVE NEVER CHANGED. THESE OBJECTIVES FLOW FROM AFRICA'S COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVE THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE WITH RESPECT TO THE TWO COLONIAL TERRITORIES. CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA, THE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN AND STILL IS, THE ENDING OF APARTHEID AND THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. WHILE THE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE MAY CHANGE FROM ONE SITUATION TO OTHER AND FROM TIME TO TIME, THE OBJECTIVE ITSELF IS CONSTANT AND NON-NEGOTIABLE.

10. AFRICANS CANNOT, AND WILL NEVER ACQUIESCE IN THE PERPETUATION OF COLONIAL AND/OR RACIST OPPRESSION IN THEIR CONTINENT. THAT IS WHY ANY TALK OF DETENTE WITH THE APARTHEID REGIME IS SUCH NONSENSE THAT IT SHOULD BE TREATED WITH CONTEMPT IT DESERVES. WHAT THE OAU REQUIRES IS DISMANTLING THE INSTITUTIONS OF OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE NON-WHITE PEOPLE BY THE RACIST MINORITY. OTHERWISE, VORSTER'S OUTCRIES ABOUT DETENTE CAN ONLY HAVE ONE MEANING INsofar AS THE SITUATION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA IS CONCERNED. AND THIS IS THAT FREE AND INDEPENDENT AFRICA SHOULD CO-EXIST WITH APARTHEID AND THUS ACQUIESCE IN THE DAILY HUMILIATION, DEGRADATION, OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

11. THE OAU HAS ON MANY OCCASIONS DECLARED ITS DESIRE AND WILL-
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INGNESS TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE PROBLEM

OF SOUTHERN AFRICA INCLUDING THAT OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS THEMSELVES HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE.

IT IS ONLY THE OBDURACY, INTRANSIGENCE AND RECALCITRANCE OF THE COLONIALIST AND RACIST REGIMES THAT FORCES THEM TO RESORT TO THE ARMED STRUGGLE. YET EVEN AT THE ELEVENTH HOUR, AFRICAN PROCLAIMED THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO IN ORDER TO SEEK ONCE GAIN A POSSIBLE SOLUTION. THAT MANIFESTO WAS UNAMBIGUOUS IN ASSERTING THE OAU'S PREFERENCE TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR OUT CONTINENT BY PEACEFUL MEANS. BUT OAU HAS ALSO MADE IT CLEAR

IF PEACEFUL PROGRESS TOWARDS ITS OBJECTIVE IS BLOCKED, AFRICA WILL SUPPORT THE ARMED STRUGGLE CARRIED OUT BY THE PEOPLES OF THE OPRESSED AREAS. THIS REMAINS THE UNSHAKABLE POSITION OF THE AFRICAN STATES AS HAS BEEN CLEARLY DECLARED IN THE MOGADISHU DECLARATION.

OAU'S STRATEGY AGAINST COLONIALISM:

12. IN RECENT YEARS OAU HAS ADOPTED AND CARRIED OUT SEVERAL STRATEGIES AGAINST COLONIALISM. WHEN IN 1969, THE RACIST AND COLONIAL REGIMES IGNORED THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO, THE OAU MEMBER STATES ADEPTED THE MOGADISHU DECLARATION IN 1971 CALLING FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY THE ACCRA STRATEGY OF 1973 CONCENTRATING ON THE LIBERATION OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES. THE VICTORY OVER PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM WHICH VINDICATED THE ACCRA STRATEGY LED AFRICA, THIS YEAR, TO ADOPT THE DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION BY WHICH THE OAU HAS RESOLVED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE POSTS.

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BY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, GUINEA BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME PRINCIPLE FOR THE ADVANCE OF THE FREEDOM MARCH FURTHER SOUTH WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. THE EXTRA-ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHILE UNEQUIVOCALLY REAFFIRMING THIS DECLARATION, WISHES TO HIGHLIGHT THE FOLLOWING:

13. THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION HAS GAINED SUCH MOMENTUM AS TO MAKE IT IRREVERSIBLE. THE NEW SITUATION NOW REQUIRES THE OAU TO RETAIN THE INITIATIVE IN ITS OWN HANDS AND INTENSIFY,

NOT RELAX, THE PRESSURES ON SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID REGIME WHICH IS NOW OPERATING FROM A POSITION OF DECLINING STRENGTH.

14. IN SOUTH AFRICA LIES THE KEY TO THE COMPLETE DECOLINIZATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM OF THE LIBERATION OF SOTHERN AFRICA MUST BE EXAMINED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY FOR THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF THE AREA, WHILST RECOGNISING THAT THE SPECIFIC FACTORS IN THE THREE TERRITORIES CONCERNED - ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA - MAY CAUSE THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO ADOPT DIFFERENT TACTICS.

(A) ZIMBABWE

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15. THE OAU'S OBJECTIVE IN ZIMBABWE IS INDEPENDENCE ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE. THIS CAN BE ACHIVED EITHER PEACEFULLY OR BY VIOLENT MEANS EITHER WAY, THE OAU WILL LEND ITS UN-QUALIFIED SUPPORT TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS LED BY THEIR NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL. AS LONG AS THE OBJECTIVES OF MAJORITY RULE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE IS NOT COMPROMISED, THE OAU WOULD SUPPORT ALL EFFORTS MADE BY THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS TO WIN INDEPNENCE BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THIS MAY MEAN A HOLDING OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WHERE THE NATIONALIST FORCES WILL NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH REGIME. IF THAT TAKES PLACE, THE OAU HAS THE DUTY TO DO EVERTHING POSSIBLE TO ASSIST THE SUCCESS OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, UNTIL AND UNLESS THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS THEMSELVES ARE CONVICED THAT TALKS WITH SMITH HAVE FAILED. IN THIS EVENT, THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WILL HAVE TO INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH THE MATERIAL, FINANCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC ASSIS-TANCE OF INDEPNENT AFRICA.

16. IN CONSIDERATION OF THE OAU'S OBJECTIVES IN ZIMBABWE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO PROPERLY EVALUATE FULLY THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THAT TERRITORY. SOUTH AFRICA HAS TROOPS IN ZIMBABWE WHICH HELP TO MAINTAIN WHITE MINORITY RULE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS FRUSTRATED

THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BY BEING THE MAJOR SANCTIONS BUSTER. BOTH IN ITS MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF THE SMITH REGIME, SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUES TO DEFY OPPO-SITION BY INDEPENDENT AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS. THE APARTHEID REGIME MUST FORTHWITH WITHDRAW ITS MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO THE MINORITY REGIME.

17. WHILE THE OAU ACCEPTS THE TASK OF HELPING IN GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE AFRICAN MAJORITY, IT MUST REMAIN ABSOLUTELY VIGILANT AND UNDERTAKE THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF

THE ARMED STRUGGLE SHOULD PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN THE ZIMBABWE
CONFLICT BE BLOCKED.

18. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS EXPRESSES ITS SATISFACTION FOR
THE DECLARATION OF THE ANC ON THE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING UNITY
AMONGST THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AS THE MOST POWERFUL WEAPON IN
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THEIR ARMOURY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE, AND

URGES THEM TO CONTINUE WITH VIGILANCE EMPLOYING THE DOUBLE-
STRATEGY OF FULL PREPAREDNESS FOR INTENSIFYING THE ARMS STRUGGLE
WHILE AT THE SAME TIME EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR
PEACEFUL CHANGE.

(B) NAMIBIA

19. THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS' POSITION ON THE QUESTION
OF NAMIBIA IS UNEQUIVOCAL. SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTINUED OCCUPA-
TION OF THAT LAND IS ILLEGAL AND ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS ARE UNDER OBLIGATION TO REFRAIN FROM DOING
ANYTHING WHICH IMPLIES THE LEGALITY OF ITS ADMINISTRATION.

THE OAU MUST FULFILL STRICTLY THIS OBLIGATION TO ABSTAIN FROM
ANY ACTION WHICH MAY BE CONSTRUED AS RECOGNITION OR ACCEPTANCE
OF SOUTH AFRICA'S RIGHT TO BE IN NAMIBIA.

20. THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS HOLD THE UNITY AND
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NAMIBIA SACROSANCT. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS
ARE WORKING FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TERRITORY AS A WHOLE
AND ARE TOTALLY OPPOSED TO ITS FRAGMENTATION. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS
RECOGNISE SWAPO AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTA-
TIVE OF THE NAMIBIA PEOPLE. DESPITE THE SPECIFIC AND UNANIMOUS
DEMAND OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOT YET AGREED
TO UNDERTAKE WITHDRAWING FROM NAMIBIA. IN FACT THE APARTHEID
REGIME HAS CONSOLIDATED ITS REPRESSIVE RULE IN THE TERRITORY AND
PROCEEDED WITH ITS BANTUSTANISATION.

21. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REITERATE THEIR CONVICTION THAT
THE ONLY POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA LIES IN THE IMP-

EMENTATION BY SOUTH AFRICA OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLU-
TION NO. 366 (1974) OF DECEMBER 17, 1974. THE AFRICAN STATES
CONSIDERING THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL BY ITS OWN DECISION IS
SCHEDULED TO CONVENE ON OR ABOUT THE 30TH MAY, 1975 TO
CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA, CALL UPON THE COUNCIL TO TAKE
THE NECESSARY MEASURES INCLUDING THOSE ENVISAGED UNDER CHAPTER
VII OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER WITH A VIEW TO EFFECTIVELY
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OVERCOME SOUTH AFRICA'S DEFIANCE AND CONTEMPT OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECISIONS. IN THE ABSENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S WILLINGNESS TO TERMINATE ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA, THE OAU MUST ASSIST THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF NAMIBIA, SWAPO,

TO INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA. SWAPO SHOULD ALSO BE SUPPORTED IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE.

THE OAU STRATEGY ON APARTHEID:

22. AS REGARDS SOUTH AFRICA, BOTH THE OAU AND THE UNITED NATIONS ARE DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF FULL EQUALITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR COLOUR. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR FREE AFRICA TO ACQUIESCE IN THE DENIAL OF HUMAN EQUALITY AND HUMAN DIGNITY WHICH IS PRESENTED BY THE PHILOSOPHY AND SYSTEM OF APARTHEID. THUS THE OAU, LIKE THE UNITED NATIONS, OPPOSES THE REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA, NOT BECAUSE IT IS WHITE, BUT BECAUSE IT REJECTS AND FIGHTS AGAINST THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN EQUALITY AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION.

23. THE OAU HAS REPEATEDLY WARNED THAT THE APARTHEID REGIME CONSTITUTES A SERIOUS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THIS THREAT ASSUMES GRAVER PROPORTIONS AS THE APARTHEID REGIME FEELS INSECURE. DESPITE VORSTER'S CLAIMS AT THE END OF LAST YEAR THAT GIVEN SIX MONTHS OR SO THE WORLD WOULD BE SURPRISED BY THE CHANGES THAT WOULD BE INITIATED FROM WITHIN THE APARTHEID REPUBLIC, THE SITUATION HAS TAKEN A TURN FOR THE WORSE AS EVIDENCE BY THE MASS TRIAL OF STUDENTS, THE CONSOLIDATION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE "BANTHUSTANS" AND THE VAST INCREASE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY BUDGET. CLEARLY, VORSTER'S REGIME IS NOT ABOUT TO DEPART FROM THE DOCTRINE OF APARTHEID. INDEED, IF ANYTHING, VORSTER'S MEASURES HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN THE SECURITY OF THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA.

24. CONFRONTED WITH THIS UNABASHED DETERMINATION OF THE APARTHEID REGIME TO MAINTAIN ITS WHITE SUPREMACIST SYSTEM, THE OAU'S RESPONSIBILITY IS CLEAR. WE MUST OSTRACIZE, AND URGE THE REST OF THE WORLD TO OSTRACIZE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME AS AT PRESENT ORGANIZED. THE OAU MUST MAINTAIN THE ECONOMIC,
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POLITICAL AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA. FREE AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS MUST WORK IN CONCERT FOR THE EXTENSION OF

THE BOYCOTT. WE MUST, IN BRIEF, WORK FOR THE TOTAL ISOLATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION AT ALL FOR CHANGING THIS POLICY. NOR IS THERE ANTHING FOR FREE AFRICA TO TALK TO THE LEASERS OF THE APARTHEID REGIME IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

25. IF AND WHEN THE LEADERS OF THE APARTHEID REGIME OF SOUTH AFRICAN DECIDE TO ABANDON THIS RACIST POLICY THEY SHOULD INITIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE

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REGIME SHOULD IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE THE NATIONALIST LEADERS NELSON MANDELA AND LIFT THE RESTRICTION ORDER ON R. SOBUKWE AS WELL AS HUNDREDS OF OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS WHO ARE NOW IN SOUTH AFRICA'S JAILS OR UNDER RESTRICTION ORDERS.

26. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ORGANISATION AFRICAN UNITY RESOLUTELY REAFFIRMS FREEAFRICA'S TOTAL REJECTION OF APARTHEID AND ALL ITS MANIFESTATION, INCLUDING ANY SO-CALLED "INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS" WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. THE PUPPET LEADERS OF SO-CALLED HOMELANDS SHOULD BE DENIED INVITATIONS TO VISIT INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES. THE COUNCIL UNDERSCORES THE IMPORTANCE OF ALL INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES TO REMAIN FIRMLY UNITED IN THE POLICY OF ISOLATING SOUTH AFRICA AND OSTRACIZING ITS APARTHEID

REGIME. THE COUNCIL REITERATES ITS SUPPORT TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATIONS MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THEIR STRUGGLE IN ALL ITS FORMS. IT ALSO CALLS FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS - WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF GOVERNMENTS, INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE ERADICATION OF APARTHEID.

27. UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES PREVAIL IN SOUTH AFRICA SUBSEQUENT TO THE COLLAPSE OF THE 500-YEAR UNCLASSIFIED

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PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM. FREE AFRICA IS DETERMINED TO CAPITALISE ON THE OPPORTUNITIES IN ORDER TO BRING THE CLOSER THE DAY WHEN EVERY

INCH OF AFRICAN SOIL WILL BE FREE FROM COLONIAL AND RACIST DOMINATION. WHILE BEING COGNIZANT OF THE FACT THAT SOUTH AFRICA STANDS AS THE FINAL MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AFRICA'S MARCH TO LIBERATION, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REAFFIRM THEIR UNFLINCHING DETERMINATION TO REALISE THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

28. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY AFRICAN FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS ALL OVER THE WORLD IN ITS QUEST FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE CONTINENT, LAUNCHES A FERVENT APPEAL TO THEM OR URGING THEM TO CONTINUE AND INTENSIFY THEIR SUPPORT FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA AS WELL AS FOR THE ENDING OF THE INHUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. END QUOTE

3. COMMENT: THERE STILL REMAIN MINOR VARIATIONS BETWEEN THE TAO "OFFICIAL" TEXTS NOW AVAILABLE TO US; THUS TEXT QUOTED HERE HAS "AFRICA" IN A NUMBER OF PLACES WHERE A SECOND VERSION HAS "OAU".
CARTER

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